1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time 602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience [754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong [576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent ● [272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidi, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

By the time we had finished the hot milk with black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

(462) It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

(415) b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A], which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A./Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the